

Shake Your Chains to Earth like Dew, Ye are Many, They are Few

DIRECT ACTION



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Registered at G.P.O.

Sydney.

SYDNEY, APRIL 1, 1915.

ONE PENNY

Free Speech.

There are twenty-four men in jail in New South Wales for exercising the right of free speech.

This is a shocking circumstance. It is something to bring the blush of shame to the cheek of every citizen who understands the elemental principles of democracy.

Without freedom of speech there can be no progress. Established Tyranny has always recognised this, and from the time of Socrates—over 2000 years ago—right down to our own day, has sought to make it dangerous for men to raise their voices against constituted authority.

Socrates spoke in the streets of ancient Athens, and because his criticism of principles and persons were not pleasing to those in power he was hounded to his death.

Christ, for daring to speak in public places against those who wielded power, was jailed, and beaten, and mocked, and executed on Calvary.

Tyranny does not go as far as that in this twentieth century of Christian enlightenment, but the spirit that animates it, even here, in the most democratic of lands, is the same spirit that murdered the greatest man in Athens and the greatest man in Jerusalem for acting upon the belief that it was not only a right, but a duty, to proclaim their message to their fellow men.

New South Wales is said to enjoy the blessings of Labor Government, but there are times when it seems that this is an allegation entirely unsupported by facts. The present is such a time. How can there be a Labor Government in power, and twenty-four men in jail for practising freedom of speech?

The two things are incompatible. Only by the assertion of free speech is it possible for Labor to triumph. Only by insisting upon the utmost liberty of expression in condemning and exposing the ruling classes of Capitalism was the Labor Movement raised from street-corner obscurity to the limelight of power.

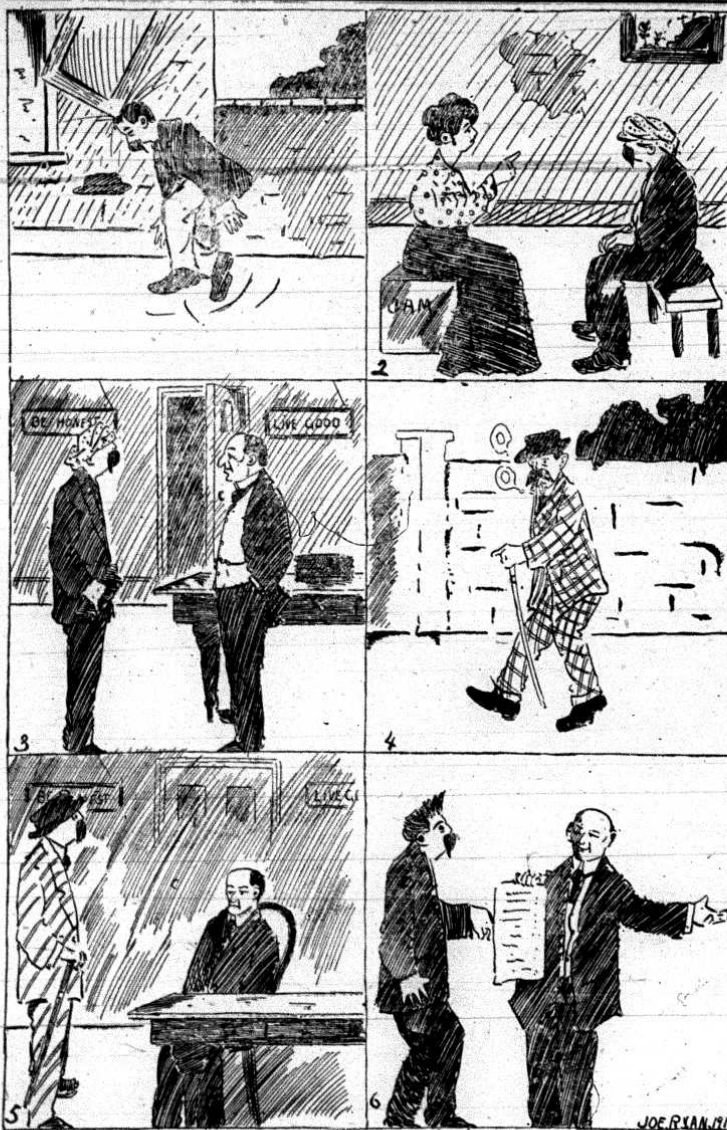
That men should be languishing in the cells for doing what Labor has always done, and always must do, if it is not to become rotten at heart and a curse to the world, is something so outrageous that we can find no words to adequately express our detestation of those who are guilty of so foul a crime.

To make the matter worse, these men were criticising the Labor Government. We do not suggest it is for that reason they are in jail. But there are others who will not hesitate to do so, and it is certainly no mitigation of the scandal that the victims of a tyrannical abuse of power should be made to suffer while a Labor Ministry sits like Pontius Pilate in the seat of authority. Those who compose the Labor Government stood up on kerosene cases in the streets in the days gone by, and denounced the capitalist governments who then ruled the State. Why is it a jail offence now to do unto them what they did unto others?

It is answered that it is not for speaking in condemnation of the Labor Government, but for speaking at all, in defiance of the new traffic regulations, that these men are imprisoned, then there is unassailable strength in the rejoinder that the Government, for its own sake, ought to take action to remedy the disgraceful injustice that is being perpetrated in its name.

Religious bodies are permitted to talk in the same places, sing and shout in the same places, bang drums, blow brass, and rattle tambourines in the same places.

Such discrimination makes of the law a lop-sided instrument of persecu-



The Amazing Adventures of Mr. Simple.

(1) Mr. Simple is touring the city looking for a master, when a window frame falls upon his bony head, and makes him see diamonds.

(2) Mr. and Mrs. Simple get their heads together and determine to see a lawyer about damages.

(3) The lawyer tells Mr. Simple that he has a splendid case, and they decide to sue for £300.

(4) Mr. Simple is jubilant, when he gets a verdict for £150. He immediately borrows £10 from his brother-in-law, until he gets the cash, so that he can rig himself out in style. He calculates that the I.W.W. don't know what they are talking about, when they talk about "injustice!" He thinks of deserting his wife.

(5) Next day he calls around at the lawyer's for the money, but the lawyer

says he is very sorry to inform Mr. Simple that the other side have appealed to a higher Court, and that they will have to box on.

(6) Twelve months later after Mr. Simple has been through every court in the land the lawyer presents Mr. Simple with a bill of costs, and informs him that Mr. Simple owes him a fiver, but he has no objection to giving his client time in which to pay.

tion, and of Justice a squinting hag.

We don't want religious bodies stoned in their street demonstrations. Were they interfered with, and their leaders fined and jailed, we would fight for them as readily as for others.

But they are allowed to pursue their propaganda without molestation by the authorities, and we demand that the right which they are granted shall be extended the Socialists and the Industrialists, too.

Equal liberty for all!

—Sydney "Worker."

A VISIT FROM THE WAR OFFICE.

Several blokes labelled "W.D." and protected by detectives, made a hurried visit to our establishment on Wednesday last. They were on the track of a stray anti-militarist dodger that we hadn't printed. After nosing round the place, a lay scout, they apologised for mistaking the address, and said "Good morning." Nothing has been missed so far.

Sentiment may for a time gloss over the antagonisms of masters and men, but sooner or later, the class struggle must emphasise itself in strike and contention, and the erstwhile ballot box partners, become irrevocably economic enemies.

Freedom of speech is like education, an economic factor. The stifling of public expression, results in secret conspiracies, which are much more difficult to control than ordinary public meetings.

Combinations.

"Solidarity" is the official organ of the I.W.W. in North America. It is full of strike news, tactics, and interesting articles on Industrial Unionism. No industrialist can afford to be without it. It ought to have a circulation of at least 2000 in Australia. It will be posted from this office for 6s. 6d. per year. In conjunction with "Direct Action" the two will cost 2s. per year posted.

"Golos Truda" is a Russian industrialist weekly published in New York. It contains favourable articles on the I.W.W. Every Russian worker should read it. The yearly subscription is 6/6. In conjunction with "Direct Action," the two papers will be sent for one year for 8/ to any address in Australia.

"Il Proletario" is the I.W.W. Italian weekly published in the U.S.A. It will cost 6/6 per year posted, or 8/ in conjunction with "Direct Action."

Address, Lit. Secretary, 330 Castlereagh Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

ELECTRIFYING RAILROADS.

A press despatch declares that the president of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has announced the intention of that company to electrify the system gradually.

The saving that will result will be enormous. According to the International Socialist Review, the ordinary steam engine needs overhauling every 125 miles, while the electric motor requires inspection only every 300 miles. A steam engine waiting to be used consumes no power.

The railroads will be enabled to rid the tracks of hundreds of trains now needed to haul fuel for the engines. The electric engine will make room for a greater volume of paying freight.

Moreover, the electric road will throw out the firemen, the engineers, inspectors and repairmen.

There will be fewer jobs for the workers. This means more competition and, if possible, lower wages. It means longer breadlines.—Cotton's Weekly.

The permission by the Government to keep shops open on Sunday is rather belated, seeing that drinks and refreshments have been sold for years. It only shows that laws are initiated outside Parliament, and then when the silver-tongued cacklers wake up from their periodical trance, they place it on the statute book, and await congratulations. £500 a year for putting it on paper.

Sound logic, so we are told. To destroy capitalism we must use capitalist institutions. Therefore we must get into Parliament, into the church, into the judiciary. Yes; so we are told.

Political power is merely the reflection of economic control. The substance can't be altered by doctoring the shadow. The barometer doesn't control the weather, neither does the tail wag the dog. If you see your face is dirty by looking in the mirror, washing the mirror won't make it clean.

Economic slavery, and political non-entity are inseparable. Economic superiority can demonstrate itself without ballot papers or ballot boxes. Freedom can only be achieved by economic superiority, by economic organisation in the workshops.

"Economic Determinism" is the underlying basis of the I.W.W. Class organisation alone can prevail. Craft unions with their "identity of interests," and political parties with their exploiter, and exploited members—economic antagonists—are contradictions of the law of "Economic Determinism."

Direct Action

Capitalist and Worker.

The A. W. U. in the Northern Territory.



OFFICIAL ORGAN

OF THE

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF
THE WORLD.

(Australian Administration).

Office—330 Castlereagh St., Sydney
Australia.

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I. W. W. Papers.

The I.W.W. papers in the United States are feeling the pinch of hard times, two going out of business during the past winter. The Spanish paper "El Obrero Industrial," published at Tampa, Florida, was the first one to go, followed by the suspension of the English paper "Voice of the People," published in Portland, Oregon.

Good news, however, has again come through, for the organisation has started two papers in other parts of the country, one being for the Lithuanian membership, entitled "Darbininku Balsas," and the other being a combined Scandinavian paper "Solidaritets," published in Seattle.

So, in spite of hard times and misrepresentation by people who ought to know better, there are still eight papers controlled by the I.W.W. in America. These are "Solidarity," weekly (English); "A Bernunkas," semi-monthly (Hungarian); "Dromoslav Delnik," semi-monthly (Bohemian); "Solidarnosc," weekly (Polish); "Solidaritets," monthly (Scandinavian); "Darbininku Balsas," weekly (Lithuanian); "Het Licht," monthly (Flemish); and "Il Proletario," weekly (Italian). "Golos Truda," a weekly Russian paper, and "Cultura Obrera," a Spanish weekly, are also strong advocates of the I.W.W., and its principles and tactics.

There is at the present time a strong movement going on for the re-starting of the "Industrial Worker," the militant Western organ, which went out of business some time ago.

With the coming of the spring in North America, the organisation will push on with redoubled energy, the organisation of the revolutionary working-class.

The workers are beginning to rely more and more upon economic organisation, in all countries, and we have a good example furnished us by "The International Socialist Review," of the lack of interest displayed in so-called working-class politics, in which the Socialist vote in the United States declined from 900,000 votes in 1912 to 600,000 in 1914.

"Direct Action" is the weapon of the future, and the I.W.W. is the organisation of the future.

LOOK OUT FOR THE MAY-DAY
NUMBER.Fellow-workers, take a kick at the
system by pushing "Direct Action."

(A. Mack.)

Hear the voices raised for freedom,
As our brothers face the foe;
See the blood that prints a story
As it trickles through the snow;
Hear the cracking of the rifles,
And the sighs that give release;
Ye that turn to God to judge ye,
Ye that lightly talk of peace.

—(R. J. Cassidy.)

In every age and every country the masters of men have practised and do now put the machinery of Direct Action into operation to settle differences of opinion with the workers. The above lines are part of a poem written when Russian capital was last administering a sedative to her discontented toilers. This bloody act filled the world's workers with fiery hate, and even British bourgeois commented on the cruel outrage and opined that such could never happen under the flag of freedom—the Union Jack.

Though while these events were happening there is little doubt that the world's capitalists and their satellites were inwardly warming with quiet but satisfied exultation. We know, so well, that Russia is not the only country where capitalists order out murder squads to put the quietus on the wealth producers, that every sophistic reference to British freedom causes a painful smile. Too well we know that the world's workers receive small consideration, not only towards liberty, but also in respect to life, wherever the black flag of capitalism casts its shade. The echo of their bullets and the screams of their victims from Johannesburg and Dublin, under the folds of the Union Jack, have not yet rumbled off the earth.

Their hatred and contempt for us, whom they economically plunder and morally and socially brutalise, appear insatiable unless they every little while soak the ground with our blood. The steam of labor's blood appears ever fragrant in their nostrils. The ideal of the master class is "profit," and anything which interferes, or seems likely to interfere, with that "god," will be promptly crushed beneath the iron boot of oppression.

Intelligent workers know that it is their own labor power applied to the natural resources that produces all the world's wealth; they know that should they cease to toil the human world would starve; they know that this master class of wealth appropriators are parasites and perform no necessary useful function in human life, even though they boast of their brains and superintendence. Their brains and superintendence are of such a nature that without the labor of the "human rubbish" the master class could not feed even themselves. How is it that such vermin-like representatives of the human family are able to maintain themselves as a master class in idleness and luxury, while the useful members of society rot in poverty, degradation and dependence? It seems a strange position that we—the many—remain chained to the yoke of toil and suffering, while they—the few—control us and enjoy the wealth that we produce! The contradiction is still more complex when we consider that through its lifetime the capitalist class has ever been weak and cowardly. They won the reins of world control through the Cromwellian, American and French Revolutions, but only by the aid of the much despised workers, who are now commencing to bid for the world management themselves. How they treated the fighting workers then and since has not yet faded from our memories! The world mastery was won for the capitalist class by the working class; they have retained that mastery only because they are able to find among the workers a degraded type—the product of their own social management—who are willing for a uniform, some hypocritical flattery and a few shillings a day to sink whatever shred of manhood was ever theirs and shoot and bludgeon their case brothers into submitting to a brutal toil and an inhuman existence.

Scarcely the master class harbor the supreme contempt for these men spiritless enough to buttress a system that condemns their own brothers to servitude and their sisters to prostitution.

We, the advance guard of the enlightened labor forces understand the true position; we understand how we are robbed, under the present social arrangement, of four-fifths of what we produce. We are making our class understand the position, and when they do so and are wise enough to unite on the industrial field under the "Direct Action" banner they will refuse to produce millions for a master class and

poverty for themselves, but will force a revolution that will tumble our shoddy capitalist society to ruins and raise a social structure wherein all humanity will have a chance to live the life of a human being, and be not distorted by perverting nor by overwork. (We are preaching the ethics and the necessity of the "One Big Union"—the world unity of the workers. Craft organisation must give way to the advance of industry and intelligence: a well-informed and class-conscious working class would have scrapped it years ago, but they weren't well-informed, and we are suffering to-day.)

Because the ruling faction know that we understand our position, and know also that "One Big Union" of the workers spells disaster to themselves they make frantic efforts to prevent our propaganda. One of their favourite methods of assault, the world over, is by prohibiting freedom of speech. Just at present they are making this assault on the "liberty of expression" at various places throughout the Commonwealth. Many of our brother workers are being clapped behind prison bars for taking advantage of a right our fathers boasted of winning for us—under the Union Jack, at any rate—before we were born. It now appears that that right to Free Speech means only Free Speech to bolster up the present putrid social system. However, that they bludgeon and gag, calumniate and crucify us will avail them nothing, at most it can but soothe their own terror with a false balm; the idea of the class union was born of the economic conditions under which we suffer; to eliminate the idea they must change the conditions which bred it, and since they will not do this, we will have those conditions for breeding grounds towards organisation and revolt until we ourselves consummate the Revolution.

Back in the years the rulers always had a powerful argument, against progress advocates, in the shape of the screw, the faggot and the rack; but science has come to their aid a little, and their arguments to-day are wrapped up in bullets, bayonets and policemen's batons. But these arguments will not win for them to-day, they worked well enough when the masses were entirely ignorant and prejudiced; those prejudices are fading before our increasing intelligence; we are beginning to see the light, and refuse to be any longer blinded and duped by trade union leaders or side-tracked by politicians; we are after the world and its control ourselves this time. Our weapons are our industrial unions, our methods Direct Action and Sabotage, and our battle cry "No Compromise."

CORRESPONDENTS.

J.S. (Coonamble).—It would take a full issue of this paper to answer all your questions. All those details are well answered in Andre Tridon's "New Unionism," posted from this office, 1s. 8d.

F.S. (Auckland).—Thanks.

E. Moyle.—Sorry, first article was too late for last issue. Thanks.

Ex-Chicagoan (W.A.).—Life is too short.

J.P. (Kingsland).—Received. Will write.

A.P. (Darwin, N.T.).—Thanks for information.

G.H. (Melbourne).—The ground is traversed by E.L.R., and space does not allow of the two. Thanks.

E.L.R.—Thanks.

T. Singer.—Received. Will write when not busy.

Jack Whyte, the member of the I.W.W., who defied the Court during the free-speech fight in San Diego, and shouted "To hell with your Justice," and got an extra six months for contempt, was murdered during a strike in Tonopah, Nevada, by a policeman. He was shot through the spinal column, and subsequently died. He refused to lay an information against his assassin, stating that there was no justice in the Courts of Justice. The I.W.W. has lost a fearless and dauntless fighter in Jack Whyte. May we produce a hundred thousand like him.

John Brown, the coal plute, is waiting about the percentage of oil-burning ships now afloat on the South American coast. There are 45 ships burning oil out of 99. Let us hope that oil will continue to advance, and stop the slavish, back-scratching picnics, where Mr. John Brown goes to view his prize wage-bullocks, who haven't kicked his profit-lined paunch for over five years.

The I.W.W. is a class organisation of the working class. It is organised upon the basis of the class struggle. Therefore it welcomes all members of the working class, irrespective of their varying creeds, colours, religious beliefs, languages, etc.

The A.W.U. is an organisation based upon the identity of interest between the slave and his master, a denial of the class struggle. The A.W.U. stands for the white man alone, and treats all coloured workers with unconcealed contempt. The man of colour, although working for the same skinner and exploiter as the white, is denied the right of organisation, in order to make the demands of his class more effective.

Now in the Northern Territory, the white workers are organised in the "White Australia" A.W.U. They are from 600 to 700 strong, or rather weak. The coloured population numbers about probably 2,500, and consists of largely of Chinese, Japs, Malays and Manilamen. The A.W.U. has consistently declined to allow these workers the right to take out a union ticket, although they have shown on many occasions that they have stronger unionistic sentiments, than many of the members of the A.W.U.

During the recent strike of whites in the Territory the coloured workers refused consistently to scab, in spite of the tempting proposals made to them by the employers. In return for this, the A.W.U. promised them every assistance, when the time came for the coloured workers to make their demands.

The strike, however, failed: as WHITE scabs were introduced. After the strike was over, some of the Manilamen applied for A.W.U. tickets, and were rewarded for their loyalty support by a blunt refusal. This left many of them in a serious position, as the Administration in the Territory operates upon the preference to unionists' policy.

Many of the coloured workers were, as a result of their loyalty, and of A.W.U. "unionism," rendered destitute, and many of them have large families, having lived many years in the North.

Some of them eventually got employment from the Public Works Department, but hardly got on the job before the A.W.U. guns arrived on the scene and demanded to know why the coloured workers were working there. To the credit of the Department, however, it refused to dismiss them.

At the present time, trouble is looming up on the wharf at Darwin, and any time we may be treated again to the spectacle of the A.W.U. making "promises" to the coloured workers in order to prevent scabbery. But after incurring the deep resentment of the coloured workers, over the failure of the white man's "union" to redeem its promises, the A.W.U. will be extremely fortunate, if the coloured men again

stand by them. If, however, the coloured workers do take the jobs, the A.W.U. will have nobody to thank but their own "select white unionism." People who manufacture scabs ought to squeal when their own philosophy rebounds upon them.

Now the I.W.W. says that if a coloured man is worth approaching about job conditions, then he is worth having in the union. And the coloured races when they understand the principles underlying economic organisation, are infinitely better and more consistent fighters than the average slave bred white. Besides, we don't see that a white skin casts any more of a halo around the chains of wage-slavery than a brown one.

The A.W.U. is so proud of the chains, that in the Northern Territory it desires a monopoly of them. And in attempting to be exclusive, it is playing in the hands of the employers, the very club to be used against themselves. The Class War is a nobler sentiment than the Race War, for it strives for the abolition of chains and not for their perpetuation.

Class Unionism is the necessity of the hour. The New Zealand miners during the 1913 strike were defeated by Australian, Japanese and Hindoo miners. White, yellow and brown miners were used by the international commercial barons to defeat the white miners of "God's Own Country." Just as politics and religion divided the working class, for the master's advantage in the past, so does the colour and racial question render coloured and white workers alike, easy and amenable victims to extortion and exploitation.

Coloured and white; Mohamedan and Catholic, beer chower and teetotaler, Socialist and conservative, are all subordinate to industrial slavery. The uninterrupted flow of profit is the only thing the masters desire.

The mode of production is international; it is scientifically organised; it is, callous, cold-blooded, and brutal. Slaves are required, without backbone, stamina or intelligence. A castrate white is preferable to a militant Kafir or Jap.

The I.W.W. stands for Revolutionary Economic International working-class unity. The coloured workers of the North have to be organised, they cannot be ignored. They are an economic factor, either for or against the working class. They MUST be organised FOR their own class against the employers.

The A.W.U. has refused to organise them. The I.W.W. will therefore do it. A start has been made and literature in Chinese printed by the I.W.W. is to be spread far and wide, and by education and enthusiasm we are going to weld the coloured workers into a militant, virile organisation. And the A.W.U. providing it remembers its promises in the future, and attempts, to keep its reputation as white as its precious skin will have nothing to fear.

TOM BARKER.

The I.W.W. Preamble.

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organise as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centre of the management of industries into fewer, and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organisation formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto: "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword: "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organised, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organising industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Organisation News. New Coal-cutting Machine. The Futility of Politics.

SYDNEY NOTES.

Things have been booming in Sydney of late, thanks to the attention of the authorities devoted to the W. W. F. Stanley and Nord have in Long Bay, after serving fourteen years for singing "Mr. Black" in Park-
street.

The meetings of late have been both numerous and well attended. The slow down philosophy propagated by the W. W. F. is having a bad effect on friends of late, and a resultant increase in the numbers of the workers engaged.

The police have been taking things easy since Mr. Black got a nice job at the Cabinet. The I.W.W. is allowed to move again the latitude enjoyed by the workers. Mr. Black don't believe in so much overtime for the bulwark of Law and order.

The Hard Labor Party has had to climb down from its pedestal of infallibility, and allow freedom of public expression.

FREMANTLE.

We are still plodding along here. Things have been very slow, but of late a revival has come around. We have seen the outdoor meetings again, and literature sales are beginning to improve as a result of same. Although we have to contend with the powers and the political Socialists on the crowd on the Esplanade, we have great hopes of getting many more members from our meetings.

Washing all the boys all success in Newcastle and Sydney, I am

-N. JEFFERY.

BOULDER NOTES.

The Boulder Local has now a headquarters and office in Lane Street, alongside the motor car stand.

The police took King's name for speaking in Burt Street, Boulder, without a permit, but nothing came of it.

Some of the railway employees of Kalgoorlie have had their hours cut down to 44 a week, and their pay reduced by the Labor Government. The slaves have not kicked so far. They ought to try Sabotage, change the labels on the trucks. The railways are a grand field for intelligent Sabotage.

M. SAWTELL.

ADDRESS IN BURT STREET.

Last night Mr. J. B. King, of the Industrial World's Workers, spoke in Burt Street, Boulder, on the aims and objects of the constitution, and vigorously denounced craft unionism. He was accorded an attentive hearing. Consequently upon being questioned by an officer of the law whether he had a permit to speak in a public thoroughfare, and answering in the negative, he strongly commented upon the right of free speech. "I have no permit," he remarked, "and do not intend to get one. The right of free speech in the interest of the working class is mine; and no person will prevent us exercising that right." He assailed the Labor Council for acting in what he alleged to be against the interests of the workers. His name had been taken by a police officer, but he did not mind, and any subsequent prosecution would reveal most conclusively the attitude of labor co-operation on the right of free and independent speech in its territory. A member of the audience suggested that a party would be found to help him out of any difficulty, and this brought forth the intimation from the speaker that more than one member of the I.W.W. had been imprisoned while campaigning in the interests of the working class. It is understood that a branch office of the organization is to be opened at Boulder in the course of a few days—Kalgoorlie "Miner."

AMERICA.

Some little while ago, the highly-respectable U.S. Socialist Party Executive expelled Finnish members to the extent of 5000 for being in favor of "Direct Action" and Sabotage. The expelled members have joined up the I.W.W. en masse. The Slowdownists must uphold Article two, Section six, or they'd lose all their middle-class membership.

TO LOCALS.

Locals and members are urged to push the paper and literature. We are doing our bit this end. Push the dope, send in the dough, and we'll settle up what we owe on the plant. We have got a good word of literature on hand—good—we want it converted into cash. And it depends on you! Are you?

Press Committee.

BRISBANE NOTES.

The old Local is still battling along handing out the dope for all its worth. It is taking hold, too, and the slaves are at last opening their eyes, and though they will blink a lot at first, they'll get used to keeping them open.

The paper goes like wildfire; literature is going well, too.

F. W. Bright gave us a good lecture on "Direct Action and Sabotage" as advocated by the I.W.W., and though there was a good deal of discussion and questioning by the Socialists in the audience, he ably upheld his contentions. 'Twas very fine for a first attempt.

Glad to hear of the Newcastle victory. It looks as if the Slavery Party were having an organised attempt made to down Free Speech and the I.W.W. We wish them luck with it.

J. J. BURKE.

MELBOURNE NOTES.

Local No. 8 is rapidly spreading its influence amongst the slaves of Melbourne. We held a propaganda meeting at South Melbourne every Friday night. W. P. Laidler, R. Farrell, G. Laidler and others continue to deliver the gospel of the I.W.W., and great enthusiasm prevails amongst the large audiences.

We have set the bulls thinking by the apparently quiet attitude we have adopted in connection with the prevention of Sunday paper selling—ever long we will set them acting.

Thousands of slaves are roaming about in a rat-like fashion looking for work. The poor fools don't realise that they have done too much work in the past—hence their degradation. This Local is searching hard for a meeting hall wherein we can set about our work in orthodox style. Our temporary place of gathering is not at all congenial to the purpose of our organisation. A very pleasing feature of this growing Local is the young blood which we are recruiting. Most of them have been members of craft unions, and were only waiting for the I.W.W. to be launched and immediately they heard of our existence they threw their lot in with us.

The future is brimful of bright prospects for a great development along the lines we advocate. We intend to make use of every possible advantage towards furthering our progress—the progress of the working class, with this end in view we must equip ourselves with such essentials as a hall, library, speakers' classes, etc. However, we have already done excellent work, and are looking to the future with light hearts.

E. L. ROYALS.

ECONOMIC ACTION.

Parliament—political government—is essentially a bourgeois institution, developed by the bourgeois in their fight against feudalism, and expressing bourgeois requirements of supremacy. Socialism, of course, cannot ignore political government; it is an expression of class war in capitalist society, and political action becomes a necessary form of action. But the proletariat must develop its own fighting expression, its own organ of government—the revolutionary union. Socialism seeks not control of the State, but the destruction of the State. The revolutionary union alone is capable of dynamic, creative action.

Economic action assumes dominance in our tactics as the Socialist movement becomes more definite and aggressive; political action becomes an auxiliary. Revolutionary unionism develops the initiative and virility of the proletariat, unites the proletariat as a fighting force. It organises the proletariat, not alone for every-day struggles, but for the final struggle against Capitalism. Revolutionary Unionism prepares are workers for their historic mission of ending political government, and establishing an industrial government—the "administration of things." Revolutionary Unionism, finally, can secure for the workers all necessary immediate reforms through their own efforts, without the action of the State. In this process Revolutionary Unionism develops itself as the means for the overthrow of State Socialism.—Louis Fraina in the "New Review."

"Workers of all countries, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to gain."

New Coal-cutting Machine.

Revolutionary changes in coal-mining methods are promised upon the general introduction of a coal-mining machine developed by Mr. H. A. Kuhn, a Pittsburgh mining and mechanical engineer, who has spent more than ten years in perfecting the machine. The device, constructed of structural steel, can attack the coal seam in any position, moving up or down or in any direction in which the seam leads. It takes out more than 90 per cent. of the coal in the ground, whereas the best practice of to-day seldom recovers more than 70 per cent. of the coal. It is stated that the machine has demonstrated that it can cut the cost of mining coal by half. It is said that ten of them can produce over 1000 tons of coal a day. Only two men are needed to guide the mechanism of each machine, which takes the coal from the seam, cuts it, puts it on a conveyor, and loads it in a pit car without a human hand touching it. Electricity or compressed air can be used, and so little power is required that the cost thereof is less than one-halfpenny a ton for each ton of coal mined.

LITERATURE OFFER.

The Press Committee has been very busy lately, and have on stock several new and interesting pamphlets.

"Revolution and the I.W.W." by Frank Chester Pease, is one of the clearest and most convincing pieces yet issued by the advanced movement. Price, 3d.

"I.W.W. Song Book," containing 22 songs, including all the favorites, that are sung all over the world. A great thing for breaking new ground. Price, 3d.

"Sabotage," by W. O. Smith, is a remarkably simple and convincing pamphlet, which deals with Sabotage and its philosophy, and application. All should read it. Price, 3d.

"The Advancing Proletariat," by Abner Woodruff, is a well-written history of the genesis, and development of the proletariat. It describes the effect of the machine on the trades unions and crafts, and shows the rise of that modern day phenomenon, the unskilled, propertyless working class. Price, 3d.

"Industrial Unionism," by Vincent St. John, is a splendid primer for a beginner. It describes in simple language the structure of the I.W.W. Price, 1d.

These five pamphlets, which are all printed in Sydney, will be forwarded post free, on receipt of a postal order for one shilling. Send now, and help build up the press of the I.W.W.

LOOK OUT FOR THE MAY-DAY NUMBER.

MAY DAY NUMBER.

In order to celebrate May Day in a befitting manner, we have determined to bring out a larger "Direct Action" on that occasion. The number will contain several interesting articles by our best contributors, and will, generally be well worth keeping as a memento of the phenomenal rise of the I.W.W. in Australia.

Locals and fellow-workers requiring larger quantities, are requested to send in their orders early, so as to give us some idea of the requirements for the issue. The cost of the issue will be much more than the average issue, therefore, we ask the membership to do their best. The rates will be 9d. per dozen as usual. Send in your orders now, for the May Day issue.

LOOK OUT FOR THE MAY-DAY NUMBER.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

For DIRECT ACTION.

Enclosed find P.O. for 2/ for which send me Direct Action for 12 months at the following address:—

NAME

(Street or P.O. Box)

City

State

(If removed, please mark an x here).

Concluded from last issue.

The fact that such hollow catch cries as "State-Feights," "Federal Wrongs," and "Capital Sites," not to mention the fuss over the election of the King's representative from Government House, the alleged wolfishness of Wade, the mystery of the vanishing majority and the sudden adulation of McGowen to the tune of "Oh, Jim, thou art the good shepherd, we are thy sheep, guard us from the wolf, Wade," or words to that effect, shows that some of the electors have blundered into the bog of bogies, or are hopelessly hypnotised with political piffle, otherwise these "will o' the wisp," promulgated by political "Lead Kindly Lighters," would not be held up as stupendous issues of great importance to the people.

POLITICAL METHOD ABSURD.

We have seen that the mode of selection is bad, the power of the politician puerile, and the incompetency of cabinets glaringly obvious, politics in the scientific method of deciding by reason and experience is tabooed. The process is to vote.

The party in a majority apply the "gag" or closure. Each member is expected to be a party man and vote as directed by the caucus. If the parties are evenly matched it is sometimes necessary to bribe members of the Opposition. For example, if in N.S.W. the Labour Party can rush a bill through Parliament by a narrow majority that bill becomes law. The majority of people who never voted Labour are bound by that law. The Labour electors are supposed to endorse it although they may not approve of the measure. Further in most cases it will be impossible to uphold the law if there is determined opposition. It may be convenient to bludgeon a few individuals but this will not reconcile intelligence to law, on the contrary, force breeds opposition. In every case the political method stands for minority rule, or at best, represents the efforts of a faction to force some law on another group. The elector votes for individuals, not policies, and only on one day every three years does he possess that right. If individuals matter, changes of overseers are of far greater importance to the toiler than changes in Parliament. The industrial arena concerns the worker at least six days a week, while politics only counts on election day. Even then, the worker is merely exhorted to sign a paper to the effect that he resigns all political power to a deputy. The ballot paper is really only a form of will, the writer thereby undertaking to be politically dead for three years, thus practically "abdicating his reason." He is unable to govern himself and must needs delegate this function to someone else without any guarantee of competency!

THE POLICY OF TRYING TO CAPTURE THE POLITICAL STATE.

Some workers think that it is possible to capture Parliament and thus dominate the State. They say it is dangerous to leave this institution in the hands of the Tories. Let us look at this aspect of the case. In the first place the moment a minister takes the oath "he becomes a conservative." No matter what label he trades his oath to, the Constitution binds him to conserve and oppress in the interests of the rich. Further, once in Parliament, the interests of the members are to a large extent opposed to his constituents. Once there, he is liable to be bribed or bludgeoned by wealth and generally rapidly degenerates into a charlatan, even if he was formerly sincere. But, suppose a revolutionary party could steer clear of the political rocks and was not wrecked on the sea of compromise, the moment that party threatened to "out" the ministry, the latter would pretend to stand for the same policy. Wade and McGowen, accusing each other of stealing the other fellow's policy, is an apt illustration. Under the most favorable conditions, presuming the revolutionaries obtained power and tried to pass a radical measure (it would have to be an attack on private property and vested interests) in favor of the people, the speaker has the right, and doubtless would use it of clearing the House at the point of the bayonet. Even if the party forced its way past the special checks and managed some-

By Ajax.

how to pass the bill, we should see the Governor dissolve Parliament, suspend the Constitution, institute martial law and probably arrest the politicians, and what would be the use of all these years of voting and agitating indulged in by the voter? Without going to extremes, the financiers can always put pressure on the Ministry. Parliament is only a committee of the ruling class. Because workers are foolish enough to allow capitalists to boss their unions, it is the height of stupidity to think capitalists are so insane as to allow labor men to control their institutions. The alleged worker's representatives can only talk, not act, in Parliament.

Meanwhile the trust grows, machinery improves, exploitation increases on the job. The ramifications of finance enable the wealthy to exploit the poor more and more. The rich magnates, drawing larger dividends, can sit back and smile, while gospel shops go bung, cabinets dissolve, and political parties read each other. The power of the ruling class is economic, not political. It was so long before the workers had votes, and all the political charlatanism of late years has rather towards exploitation.

It is practically impossible for the proletariat to control legislation under not led to economic salvation, but existing conditions. Their interests are to destroy, not conquer, Parliament. Besides they have quicker and better methods to obtain what they want.

PHILOSOPHICALLY UNBORN.

Philosophically it has never yet been proved that you can make laws to suit others. Party politics implies oppression, and has ever led towards tyranny. If all our morality and philosophic progress is not mere words, then we are forced to the conclusion that the pollution of public and private life that politics involves is detrimental to society. In England it is estimated that Parliament, during its generations of failure, has passed over 17,000 laws, most of which have been harmful and futile. Moreover, politics leads to friction, strife, and engenders bad passions, which cannot be reconciled with our social or religious conceptions. Further, politics implies a false authority. People rely on the Minister instead of themselves. He becomes the idol, and they sink into mental morbidity and idolatry.

REFORMATION OF THE ELECTOR.

Reform of politics is useless. The elector, instead of bolting like sheep at bogeys, should clear his brain of deep-rooted prejudices, become a conscious person, knowing his needs and the correct method to get them. If he has a taste for politics, he would do well to consider firstly, "Is the theory of politics scientifically sound?" If not, then why support a gigantic system of charlatanism and oppression? A conscientious abstentionist counts for far more socially than a gullible voter. Indeed, abstention by the electors is a powerful weapon against political class-rule, and renders the political system weak and difficult to sustain.

The political system has been one long record of failure, like its twin brother, the religious system, is responsible for many evils, and thereby incurred the condemnation of the world's greatest thinkers. Lord Macaulay severely criticised politics, he also wrote: "There is no slavery, but ignorance." This was written before the blossoming of the present industrial slavery, but it still holds good, especially in the case of the superstitious and ignorant voter.

STICKERS.

Stickers are one of the most effective propaganda dodges that can be used. The Press Committee have printed a large quantity, which are now on sale to members, and locals. The prices are 2s. 6d. per thousand; 11s. for 5000; and £1 for 10,000. Orders despatched by return.

NOTE.

A blue pencil mark here means that your subscription runs out this issue. A red mark means that the next issue will be the last.

If you want "Direct Action" to continue, you should renew immediately.

The Ballad of Maitland Gaol.

(A Comic Tragedy, Complete in One Month.)

(By Our Captive War Correspondent.)
(Scene—Governor's Office.)

(Governor, Senior Screw, Student Screws, and Assorted Chaplains Discovered Discussing Good and Welfare of Gaol.)

Senior Screw: Far back as memory fondly lingers—even as a boy—

To torture and torment dumb things gave me exceeding joy:

To starve the kitten, beat the dog, pinch infants so they'd wail,

Was my delight. The neighbours said I'd end my days in gaol.

Not yet are those days ended, although for thirty years.

I've been in gaol—a living scourge—of human hopes and fears.

The lash no longer lashes, true, the "cat" is laid to rest;

'Twould seem a gaoler's life had lost its one-time joyous zest.

I say not so. The heartless gibe—the sneer—the cruel taunt—

Will rear man's soul as could no whip—will harrow, goad and haunt;

Will make the brave man coward, will render strong men weak.

Make good men bad, and bad men worse, and true men act the sneak.

To kill all joy, to murder mirth—to snarl down every smile—

Who could assert a warder's life is empty—not worth while?

To me it brings back boyhood's days—of dumb things on the rack.

For, after all, a lag is dumb—he dare not answer back.

Chorus of Student Screws:

Great Chief, you are a gaoler born—In each lag's side you've been a thorn.

Senior Screw:

'There never was a spirit that your Senior couldn't crush—

That he didn't force to cringe, to wilt, to sag.

Until I met this I Won't Worry push. Don't you worry, boys, I've one for them—the gag!

Chorus of Assorted Chaplains:

The very thing, of course! But, dear Brother, don't use force.

First Ass. Chap:

Yes, brethren, last Sabbath I had told our lost sheep

To have faith in the dear Holy Ghost. These words echoed plainly—they made my flesh creep:

'Would faith produce both tea and toast?'

Second Ass. Chap:

And we—we were singing that beautiful hymn—

'How we'd meet in the sweet by-and-bye.'

This chorus they sang—it resounded with vim:

'There'll be pie in the sky when you die.'

Chorus of Ass. Chaps:

'We would move this be amended—That the gag rule be suspended

In the case of known, domesticated lags.

And that men who won't respond To our junk on the Beyond

Should be furnished with the largest kind of gags.

(Enter Inspector of Prisons.)

Inspector: I've obeyed your urgent summons—

I am here at your request—

Inform me quickly: what disturbs your rest?

Governor: You know, dear sir, how loth we are to trouble you—

It's all about those darned I Double W's.

Inspector: Are they vicious, are they bad, or merely lazy?

Governor: They're mad, sir, and they're driving us all crazy!

Inspector: State your case and be explicit. As to devil, I'll not miss it.

Governor: You know, sir, that singing and laughter's taboo—

Well, they laugh and they sing the live-long day through.

If we keep them together—an all-day debate,

If we mix them with others, they all agitate.

We set them a task—they dig it all

right. There's nothing to show when we tally at night.

We put them in solitude—water and bread—

They boast to each other how well they've been fed.

Then, when we have locked them at night in a cell,

It's a cat-call and whistle, and whistle and yell;

We track a loud whistle right into its lair;

It vanishes—breaks out again over there.

Up above, down below, to the left, to the right—

They keep, sir, my warders, awake all the night.

Moreover, in church, they drown every hymn

With secular words in voice far from dim.

We don't let them worship; another fine mess:

Each scoundrelly infidel wants to confess.

At drill, when they march, they step with the right—

Salute with the left, in obvious delight.

We show them their fault, put them right, all in vain—

Say they're left-handed—and do it again.

They always forget both their ranks and their numbers—

They'd awaken old Job from his calm and his slumbers.

For my warders they show not the slightest respect;

They are making them all scratch their heads, and reflect.

In fact, they all lack a due sense of promotion,

And look on each screw as a sort of abortion.

I would give a year's pay for a valid excuse

To turn these barbarians, one and all, loose.

Inspector:

Can you tell aught of the doctrine they teach?

Their attitude, if given this Free Speech?

Senior Screw:

I've heard 'em talk of class wars, and of bush wars, and of such, and a French bloke they call Sabbertarge. The rest is Double Dutch!

Ch. of Ass. Chaps:

The gospel these vandals all seem to profess

Is a crude and ridiculous creed: They would take all the good things we loaters possess,

And give them to toilers in need.

Senior Screw:

If I might, I'd like to mention, And to bring to your attention,

A warder who's intelligent and travelled. He should know these I Won't Workers

As a push of noisy shirkers—He's the bloke, sir, if you'd like this skein unravelled.

Inspector:

A gaoler who has travelled—why, the very man we seek;

You say, too, he's intelligent; this man must be unique!

(Enter Gaoler Stone-Age.)

Senior Screw:

Advance, Warder Stone-Age—Salute! The other hand, you great, big, soft galoot!

Inspector:

Your chief sir, tells me that you've seen some travel.

We've a mystery here we'd like you to unravel:

What is it that these bad Free Speechers teach?

Explain their gospel to us—what they preach?

Screw Stone-Age:

I have seen a lot of travel, that I has—In Noo South, likewise in Vic., likewise in Tas.

But I never seen 'em in a church to preach.

An' I never listened when they made a speech;

'Cause I couldn't understand 'em, if I did.

As my learnin' was neglected as a kid.

Inspector:

Cease, oh cease, this blatant chatter, I would fain clear up this matter.

Senior Screw:

We've a man we have confined in solitude—

He tells so many truths that he's quite rude.

Inspector: So long as he seems sensible: I deem him indispensable.

(Enter I.W.W. Gaolbird.)

Inspector:

I have tried to get the latest information.

Regarding you and your great agitation.

I will find out why you fight if I listen here all night.

I.W.W.: There is nothing at all in our gospel of mystery.

To the mind of the worker, be it conscious or critical.

But all the great thinkers and teachers of history

Could not make it stick in the mind parasitical.

The parasite thrives on his fleblings from workers—

Gives nothing to life but his carcass at birth;

Industrial workers, the world o'er cry "Shirkers!"

'Arrender your spoils! Or get off the earth!"

'Surrender! Sleek palterers of mercy and meekness."

'Pitiful props of a system so frail!"

'Reduce! you armed thugs, of its feebleness and weakness!"

'Hounding your betters—its victims—in gaol."

Is it wonder you hate us, you parasite plunderers?

Preaching your thefts, by word and with pen?

But why should you gaol us, you ignorant blunderers—

Arresting the truth by the gaoling of men.

To the Senior Warder of the Gaol: Get off the earth! You fatulent bubble, you—

Bestialized Bludger for Capital's Hell! The World for the Workers! the I Double W—

And Freedom of Speech that our truths we may tell!

(Collapse of Senior Warder.)

To Inspector of Prisons:

A spoke, sir, I am grateful, a match, yes, I trouble you?

Come on, you poor Screws. Take me home to my cell!

(Exit I.W.W.)

Senior Screw:

I'll rag him and I'll rag him, and I'll serag him, and I'll gag him, and I'll—I'll—I'll—

Inspector:

I learn that you've kept him on water and on bread;

That you've shut off his lights—confiscated his bed.

That you've gone far, too far, there's no reason to doubt—

Senior Screw (shaking his fist): If I can't coe the brute, I'll damn soon throw him out.

Ch. of Ass. Chaps:

We beseech thee, O Lord, that thou let these men go—

That fill with pure gladness our temple of woe.

From our poor, stricken sinners we have long banished mirth;

These men would remind them of pleasures on earth.

Grant them Free Speech, Dear Lord, and Thou wilt,

That all these real convicts forget not their guilt?

General Chorus:

Amen!

(Curtain.)

THE "TRIUMPH" OF LABOR.

Figures have been made available by the Commonwealth Statistician (Mr. G. H. Knibbs) giving particulars of industrial disputes in the Commonwealth during 1914. The total number of disputes which occurred in that year was 337, a large increase on the number (208) in the preceding year.

No fewer than 235 of the disputes in 1914 occurred in New South Wales, and of that number 167 were in the mining industry (mainly coal). The total number of working days lost in 1914 (699,153) shows an increase of over 59 per cent. on the number lost in 1913 (622,535), while the total estimated loss in wages in 1914 (£500,475) was nearly 74 per cent. greater than in the preceding year (£228,101).

And we have a Labor Party on the Federal Bench, and a similar bunch in the State Benches in N.S.W. Nuff sed!

Wanted! A Thousand subs!

LOOK OUT FOR THE MAY-DAY NUMBER.

The Commune and the "Comrades"

Various organisations around Melbourne received an invitation from the Socialist Party, to celebrate (as usual) that great triumph which is recorded in working-class history. The objective—to celebrate—such a tragic affair—seems good. But what a character of a celebration! Eating, drinking, singing and back-scratching were the prominent features of the gathering.

Now, really, this does reflect badly upon the past work of those who are supposed to be propagandists of working-class solidarity. When we gaze back upon the long period during which the Socialist Party and the Trades Hall have been in existence, and then to come back to present-day happenings, well what can we say to their accomplishments?

A dinner and a song to celebrate the slaughter of some 30,000 of our class, who stood and fought for their convictions! I should say that these great social saviours have gone back on the spirit and courage demonstrated by those whom they celebrated.

The lesson taught by the failure of the commune was, to say the least of it, a lack of education amongst the lower class. Have the Socialists taken that as their guiding point, and advanced the education of the working class? And how the devil is such a thing going to be done whilst they accept into their ranks members of the enemy class? These great arm-chair revolutionists, who sit back and dream of a future society, but when it comes to a question of practicability and fight—well, then they refer the slaves to the ballot box. Such is the history of the Socialist Party, hence their majestic celebration. Had a pure working-class organisation like the I.W.W. been in existence over such a long period as they (the Socialists) are, I feel sure that we would have reminded the present-day autocrats of the fact, by getting back some of our own as a memento of the slaughter of those game fighters.

At all events an industrial war on such a date would be appropriate, to say the least of it. Right up to the present time, all the biggest fights have been the result of a sudden uprising. These events have proved valuable, not altogether because of the amount of improved conditions and wages gained by those who fought (if they were gained), but ALWAYS VALUABLE BECAUSE OF THE KNOWLEDGE THAT COMES FROM THEM. The Paris commune is no exception.

The great lesson we were taught from that; is that the inauguration of a new society does not and cannot depend upon the leadership of a few Messiahs, but it does absolutely depend upon the education of the working class. In the former case only the Messiahs need to be attacked and beaten, and the whole thing falls flat, along with that, there is always the slaughter of a number of ignorant followers. But in the other case the fight, once taken up, will be continued by an educated class, knowing what to do and how to do it. We need not speculate here as to the result of such a fight, which is apparently not yet close handy. We have the main question right here and now—"The Education of the Slaves."

The Socialists have failed to pay full attention to it, and, on the contrary, have led off on a mission of brow-beating in the camp of the enemy.

We, of the I.W.W., will have none of it. To dream of palaces, loves, and motor-cars will not appease the cravings of hungry, homeless slaves. Let us set about educating that section of the community which is constantly able to get some benefits right here, and now. We want to eat decent meals and sleep in comfort. Does that not sound better than the sentimental outbursts which comes from the Socialists about "those who have died, and our children who are to follow us." Let the Socialists pay attention to the industrial education and organisation of the slaves, and other things will follow in their proper order. Then, if we see fit to celebrate any past events, such as the Paris Commune, we will make the boss pay.

E. L. ROYALS.

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Value Price and Profit: Marx, bound 2s, paper 6d.

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IN THE COURT.

Coroner: You knew the deceased?

Witness: "Yes."

Coroner: "You saw him last night?"

Witness: "Yes, listening to a lecture by a labour politician."

Coroner: "And he was swallowing the stuff?"

Witness: "Yes, and trying to digest it."

Coroner: "Stomach poison, verdict of manslaughter against the labor politician."

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